

# BRITISH OPINIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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'Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto him that fell among the thieves?'

LUKE x. 25.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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DURING the past year the character of the American Colonization Society has been a subject of frequent discussion. The interest taken in the question has created a great demand for publications in relation to it. As a proof of this, it may be mentioned that a large edition of '*Garrison's Thoughts on Colonization*,' 2750 copies, was disposed of in the course of nine months.

The interest in the subject has not in any degree abated at the present time. And those who are opposed to the Society have for a long time felt the want of some tract, in which the arguments against the institution should be presented in a form sufficiently cheap to fit it for general circulation. To supply this want is the object of the present publication. A number of pieces have lately appeared in Great Britain in which the pretensions of the Colonization Society are discussed with great candor and ability. The whole of one pamphlet on this subject and parts of others are embraced in the following pages.

Much has been recently written in this country as well as Great Britain, in relation to the Colonization Society, and with great ability. We have chosen to confine our re-publication to British articles, for several reasons. First, the British pieces have not, and cannot, without re-publication, enjoy so great a circulation among us as the American have already done: and secondly, the Englishmen who write upon this subject, are at a distance from the sources of American prejudices; their opinions, therefore, deserve respect as those of impartial spectators.

We do not offer any remarks in favor of the articles contained in this pamphlet. They will recommend themselves to all who will read them.

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The articles now offered to the American public are as follow:

1. The whole of a pamphlet with the following title, '*A Letter to Thomas Clarkson by James Cropper; and Prejudice Vincible, or the practicability of conquering Prejudice by better means than by Slavery and Exile; in relation to the American Colonization Society.*' BY C. STUART.
2. Extracts from a pamphlet entitled '*Facts designed to exhibit the real character and tendency of the American Colonization Society.*' BY CLERICUS.
3. Extracts from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.
4. Extract from the *Liverpool Mercury*.

# A LETTER TO THOMAS CLARKSON,

BY JAMES CROPPER.

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*Liverpool, 10th month, 2d, 1832.*

MY DEAR FRIEND:—

It has caused me deep regret to see thy name amongst those of many long-tried friends of humanity as supporters of the American Colonization Society. Though I am not surprised that many, under the mask of a voluntary and prosperous settlement of free blacks on the coast of Africa—a measure in which every friend of humanity must rejoice—have been led to support a scheme, the nature and effects of which are of a very different character.

In judging of this scheme we ought never to lose sight of two facts with respect to the enslaved Africans in the United States, in which the enormities of that free country have exceeded those of any other. The first is, that slaves are regularly bred for sale. The second, that in many of the States the laws affecting free blacks are of so violently persecuting a character as to compel those who obtain their liberty to leave those States. From the former of these causes, instances must often occur (from the state of morals in slave countries) of fathers selling their own children!!! From the latter has originated the Colonization Society; it arose out of these prejudices against color, and is a direct attempt to extend the same principle to transportation.

Why are slaveholders so anxious to send away free people of color? Because their slave institutions would be endangered by the competition of respectable free black laborers; and they dread still more their education and advancement in science. If they were desirous to serve the free blacks, they would instruct them at home, (not a *few* of them, but every one that they send,) and not send them in ignorance to a barbarous country.

To this real scheme of transporting the people of color a professed one is attached, for the ultimate extinction of slavery, by the transportation of the whole black population to the coast of Africa; and we are gravely told that one hundred thousand slaves are ready to be given up, if means can be found of sending them to Africa! A most extraordinary statement, and one for which I believe there is no foundation, in either fact or probability. Can it be believed that the slaveholders of the United States are ready to give up their property, worth at least FIVE MILLIONS STERLING?—a liberality unheard of since the foundation of the world. In all the rest of the United States, enough to pay the expense of their emigration cannot be

raised, and hence it is sought for in England. If there was any truth in this wonderful statement, we must all of us have been sadly deceived about the debasing effects of slaveholding on the minds of those engaged in it. No other occupation ever produced such extraordinary liberality.

It would be interesting to know to what class these men belong. Is it the practice of selling their own children which has produced this extraordinary effect? Or are these men amongst the slave-buyers, who purchase them for no other purpose, than to give them their freedom so soon as the means of sending them to Liberia can be found? Is it not strange indeed, that any man can be bold enough to make assertions so obviously at variance with truth.

To whatever extent this transportation of slaves was carried, the slaveholders know that the price of those slaves which remained would be enhanced, and their condition embittered, by the removal of all hopes of liberty, so precious to the human soul. The free colored people being kept few and poor, will be prevented from rising, by fair competition, to the equal rank and honor to which that competition naturally conducts, when not marred in its progress by some such scheme as the American Colonization Society. No wonder that, with the exception of some who do not understand the plan, the planters are friendly to the colonization scheme. But the free people of color are opposed to this scheme. They have committed no crime, and do not like to be transported and to suffer the highest penalty of the law next to death.

To whatever extent the United States expatriate their cotton cultivators they destroy one of the chief sinews of their own prosperity, and increase the temptation to other States to renew the slave trade by fresh importations. The whole revenue of the United States, for fully thirty years to come, would be required to purchase the slaves and to transport them and the free blacks to Africa. Such an idea as the extinction of slavery by means of the Colonization Society can never have been seriously contemplated. No! *Perpetuation*, and not *extinction of slavery*, is its object!

The first command ever given to man was—'Be fruitful and multiply.' Who can doubt that it is for his interest to obey this and every other command of God?—but in no case is it so manifest as when in a state of slavery. The value of men, as of every other commodity, is governed by their plenty or scarcity; where they are so abundant that parishes are willing to pay the expenses of emigration to get rid of them, there must be an end of slavery. Every increase of numbers tends, whilst it is a proof of better treatment, to promote the mitigation and final extinction of slavery: and it must be admitted that the Americans evince this proof of good treatment.

The slaves in the United States have rapidly increased, and this increase has been highly beneficial to the cause of humanity. It is estimated that they have increased since 1808, (the time of both our and their abolition of

the slave trade,) from 1,130,000, to 2,010,000, and, they have more than trebled the growth of cotton since the peace in 1814, and have reduced its price to one-third of what it then was, though the Brazils, with all their slave trading, have only added one-fourth part to their growth of cotton in the same time. Hence it is plain, that if there has been any increase in the cotton cultivators of Brazils, few or no slaves can have been imported for its cultivation. May we not then say that the increase of the slave population of the United States has done more than all our enormous expenditure for the suppression of the African slave trade?

It cannot but be interesting to thee to know what would have been the effect of a similar increase in the English West Indian slaves. Had they increased in the same proportion as those of the United States (since the abolition of the slave trade) their numbers would have been 728,317 more than they now are, which, if employed in the cultivation of sugar, would have been sufficient to have produced an increase of 240,000 tons annually, whilst all the slave trading of the Brazils and Cuba and the French colonies have only added 115000 tons to their growth. Such an increase of sugar would have greatly reduced its price, and consequently the price of slaves, and thereby have destroyed the slave trade for the growth of sugar, as it has long since extinguished that for the cultivation of indigo, and more recently for the growth of cotton.

The disguise is now removing, and the real tendency of the Society is becoming apparent. A bill was reported to the House of Delegates of Virginia for sending the free blacks away by force; but though this compulsory clause was rejected, it is added that several other motions were made and decided by majorities; which amply proved the determination of the House, to adopt some measure for the removal of the free blacks. These legislators admit that the free blacks will not leave the land without some sort of force; which may either be absolute, or by rendering their situation absolutely intolerable.

Great injury has been done to the cause of negro emancipation by the encouragement which the agent of this most *diabolical* scheme has received from the sanction of thy name. The term diabolical is not too severe; for never did Satan, with more success, transform himself into an angel of light than in the gloss which has covered its deformities.

These persecuted free blacks view the whole plan with the abhorrence which is justly due to it, and with which we should view a plan of general transportation from the land of our nativity. The slave owners are its advocates and supporters. Surely the name of Clarkson will be withdrawn from the ranks of the oppressors, and will be found, as it has ever yet been, amongst the friends of the oppressed African race.

Let us repair the injury which has been done on both sides of the water by this unholy connection between slave-holders and philanthropists; for since this scheme has been on foot its deadening influence on the energies of the friends of humanity in the United States has been most manifest.

Let there no longer be any doubt which side is taken by the philanthropists of England. Let them declare their deep feeling of sympathy with these sorely-persecuted and oppressed people; and such an example will be followed in the United States, where the friends of humanity will hasten to leave the ranks of the oppressors, and the cause of justice will again flourish.

May I particularly request thy attentive perusal of the following twenty pages, written by my friend CHARLES STUART, one of the most devoted Christians I have ever known, and an unwearied advocate of the oppressed Africans.

I am, with great regard,

Thy sincere friend,

JAMES CROPPER.

## PREJUDICE VINCIBLE, &c.

Conflicting statements having been placed before the public on the subject of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, the writer is led by what he deems a solemn regard for truth and duty, to offer the following evidence in relation to it :—

Liberia is an American settlement on the western coast of Africa, about 200 miles southward of Sierra Leone, in lat. 6 deg. 30 min. N. and lon. 11 deg. W. Its principal point is Cape Mesurado, on which Monrovia, its capital, is built.—The settlement comprises a small domain, immediately around Monrovia, purchased from the *native chiefs*, and is loosely said to consist of a much larger territory, because the native chiefs have merely put themselves, during pleasure, under its protection. Cape Mesurado is a fine elevated spot, completely ventilated and drenched with the fresh, moist, sea air, extending two or three miles. The rest of the territory differs in nothing materially from the fertile and imperfectly cultivated continental sea coasts of the regions of the equator. Vessels of moderate burthen only can enter its harbor.

The American Colonization Society founded and supports Liberia. It was commenced in 1817, and of late has obtained considerable attention. Its fundamental principles are embodied in the two first articles of its constitution, and are as follow :—

ARTICLE 1.—‘ This Society shall be called “The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States.” ’

ARTICLE 2.—‘ The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient,’ &c.

The broad facts of the case are these :—

The whole population of the United States is about 13,000,000. Out of this, upwards of 2,000,000 are held in a most degrading and brutal state of personal slavery, under laws worse than even those of the wretched slave colonies of Great Britain.

Out of the whole, 350,000, though *free*, are in most cases *only partially so*; and are exposed to an exceedingly malignant and destructive persecution, merely because they have a skin differently colored from the remaining eleven and a half millions of their fellow-subjects.

Both these two persecuted classes are rapidly increasing. Their increase terrifies the slave party, and fills them with anxious musings of danger.

The glaring contradiction of a *free* people being a *slaveholding* people; of eleven or twelve millions of men, calling themselves the most free in the world,



keeping upwards of 2,000,000 of their unoffending fellow-subjects in the most abject and degrading slavery, affects many, and urges them to seek a remedy.—The word of God stands out before others, and bids them blush and tremble at the guilt and danger of their country, while the smothered cry of the oppressed and unoffending poor rises incessantly to God against her.

From this state of things it was that the American Colonization Society arose ; by this state of things it is that the American Colonization Society subsists. It is agreeable to the slave-master, for it calms his fears. It offers a *remedy* to the man who mourns over the dishonor and inconsistency of his country ; and to the man who fears God, it commends itself by pretending to do all that it can for the unoffending poor.

The views of its advocates are frankly expressed in its own constitution as above quoted, and in its own reports. I refer to them all, particularly to the three last, 13th, 14th and 15th, and submit from them the following quotations :

I. 13th Report, page 44 :—‘ The present number of this unfortunate, degraded and anomalous class of inhabitants cannot be much short of half a million, and the number is fast increasing. They are emphatically a mildew upon our fields, a scourge to our backs, and a stain upon our escutcheon. To remove them is mercy to ourselves, and justice (!!!) to them.’ 15th Report, page 24—‘ The race in question were known, as a class, to be destitute, depraved, the victims of all forms of social misery. The peculiarity of their fate was, that this was not their condition by accident or transiently, but inevitably and immutably, whilst they remained in their present place, by a law as infallible in its operation as any of a physical nature.’ In same, 15th Report, page 25—‘ What is the free black to the slave ? A standing, perpetual excitement to discontent..... The slave would have then little excitement to discontent, but for the free black ; he would have as little to habits of depredation, his next strongest tendency, but from the same source of deterioration !!!!!!! In getting rid, then, of the free blacks, the slave will be saved from the chief occasions for suffering, and the owner from inflicting severity.’

II. 15th Report, page 26 :—‘ If none were drained away, slaves became inevitably and speedily redundant, &c. &c. When this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained ? Was *open butchery* to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the helots ; or *general emancipation and incorporation*, as in South America ; ‘or *abandonment of the country by the masters* ?’ \* Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe : could all of them be avoided ? and if they could, how ? ‘ There was but one way, and it was to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase*, beyond the occasions of profitable employment, &c. &c. This drain was already opened.’ The *African Repository*, vol. 7, page 246, says—‘ Enough, under favorable cir-

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\* In contemplating these alternatives, how can we sufficiently admire the goodness of God in having provided that the increase of slaves shall necessarily lead to emancipation and incorporation ! and how can we be sufficiently struck with horror at the deliberate and insolent cruelty of man, in devising schemes like this for the perpetuation of slavery !—J. C.

circumstances, might be removed for a few successive years, *if young females were encouraged to go*, to keep the whole colored population in check!!'—How dreadful thus coolly to rend asunder the sexes which were made to be each other's mutual strength and solace through earth's dangerous pilgrimage! And in page 232, anticipating within two generations a result of forty whites to one black, it declares that all uneasiness would then be at an end.

III. In 14th Report, pages 12 and 13 :—' And the slaveholder, so far from having just cause to complain of the Colonization Society, has reason to congratulate himself that in this institution a channel is opened up, in which the public feeling and action can flow on without doing violence to his rights! The closing of this channel might be calamitous to the slaveholder beyond his conception; for the stream of benevolence that now flows so innocently in it might then break out in forms even far more disastrous than abolition societies and all their kindred and ill-judged measures.'

Report of Pennsylvania Colonization Society for 1830, page 44 :—' The Society proposes to send, not one or two pious members of Christianity into a foreign land, but to transport annually, for an indefinite number of years, in one view of its scheme, 6000, in another 56,000 missionaries (!!) of the descendants of Africa itself, to communicate the benefits of our religion, and of the arts. And this colony of missionaries,' &c. That is, *six or fifty-six thousand* of the degraded and anomalous wretches, who are said to be a mildew upon the fields of America, and a scourge to the backs, and a stain upon the escutcheon of the white people of the United States, are to be transformed annually, by transportation to Africa (*with their own consent*) into an army of missionaries, communicating the benefits of religion and the arts!!!

In further pursuing this subject, I propose—

1. To contrast the evils which need a remedy, and the remedy needed, with the remedy proposed by the American Colonization Society.
2. To ask how far the remedy thus proposed may fairly be expected to remove the evils in question.
3. What are the feelings of the free-colored people themselves respecting this remedy?
4. Have we any other evidences?
5. What is our duty?

1. *The Evils which need a Remedy.*

1. The brutal and degrading personal slavery of upwards of 2,000,000 unoffending subjects of the United States.

*Remedy needed.*

The immediate abolition, by a well digested legislative enactment in each slave State and in Congress, of the brutal, criminal, and ruinous system of negro slavery, and the immediate substitution in its place, of a law worthy of a great, free, and enlightened country.

*Remedy proposed by the American Colonization Society.*

The sending to Africa under circumstances as favorable as in their power, of as many of the enslaved and unoffending negroes as their own masters may please to emancipate for that purpose.

2. The cruel and criminal prejudice against the free colored people, and the awful persecution to which it subjects them.

3. The African slave trade continued.

4. The moral wretchedness of Africa.

5. The ruinous condition of the slave States.

6. The terrors of the slave masters.

The union of Christians and philanthropists of every class, *especially of the Ministers of the Gospel*, to brand that base and destructive prejudice every where with the infamy which it deserves, and to extend the cherishing arms of heavenly love to comfort, support, and establish in their native country all who are outraged by it.

The immediate and universal abolition of its only source and support, negro slavery.

Select missionary efforts, such as are used elsewhere, multiplied and extended.

The conversion of their slave laborers into free laborers,—of their unwilling into willing hands.

Undissembling repentance, and fruits meet for repentance; and for this purpose the continual setting before them of their sin; and, morally speaking, giving them no peace in their iniquity.

The sending to Africa, under circumstances as favorable as in their power, of as many of the sufferers as they can get to go or to send.

The settlement of a free colored colony, under circumstances as favorable as in their power, upon the coast of Africa.

The sending to Africa of a mixed crowd of wretches declared to be too bad, generally speaking, to be safely allowed to remain in their native country, under the presumption that landing them in Liberia will qualify them to be missionaries of the Gospel.

The removal from the United States as quickly as possible of a vast proportion of all its laboring strength.

Removing, as condescendingly as possible, as many of the objects of their terrors as they wish to get rid of, that they may keep the remainder as long as they please, without fear.

Such, I think, are the chief evils set forth in this Society's reports. Such are the plain and simple remedies which duty undeniably requires; and such are the remedies proposed by the American Colonization Society.

2.—*How far may the remedies thus proposed be fairly expected to remove the evils in question?*

I put it to the independent understandings of my fellow-men; I entreat them to weigh each evil for themselves, with its remedy, *real and proposed*; and I ask, as far as the American Colonization Society succeeds, what must be the condition of the mass of wretches that continue enslaved, when year after year, all hopes of liberty are more and more extinguished, and nothing but strengthening despotism remains? When every brute shall be more and more at liberty to pollute them with impunity, and when every barrier to holier alliances shall be more and more proudly closed?

1. What kind of a remedy will it be to the brutal enslavement of *two millions*, increasing at the rate of 50,000 annually, that annually a few hundreds, (or thousands if it should ever be,) have their slavery commuted into transportation. The few who are benefited not being righted, but only suffering a

lesser instead of a greater wrong ; while the two millions who remain are still increasing in number and sinking in degradation ?

2. What kind of a remedy is it to the dreadful persecution which the 3 or 4 or 500,000 free-colored people are suffering in the United States, that a fragment of them are removed annually to a foreign land, *with their own consent*, while the multitude who remain are subjected to aggravated persecution ?

3. How can the African slave trade be effectually prevented, while negro slavery, its *only source*, remains ? or what power can the Americans have in attempting to abolish the slave trade in Africa, excepting that of *mere brute force*, while they have a slave trade at home more criminal than that of Africa, and almost as cruel ?

4. How can the moral wretchedness of Africa be remedied by an influx of degraded and untutored minds ? And what will the Africans think, when informed that *these Americans*, who are so busy about freedom on the African coast, are slave-masters, or *encouragers of slave-masters at home* ?

5. How can the ruinous condition of the slave States be remedied by transporting almost the whole of their laboring strength to a distant country ?

6. And what good will it be doing the slave-holder to give him peace in his sins ? To make it as pleasant and as safe for him as you can, to continue to plunder and to oppress the unoffending poor ? Will *that* be loving him ? Will his soul bless you for *such* love, when his whiter skin no more elates him with pride, and he meets his slave, no longer a slave or a negro, but like himself, a deathless soul, to be judged, without respect of persons, by the impartial law of unalterable righteousness ?

3.—*What are the feelings of the free colored people themselves respecting this remedy ?*

In 1817, at the first formation of the American Colonization Society, they thus expressed themselves at a public meeting, at Bethel Church, in Philadelphia, James Forten being their Chairman :—

‘Whereas, our ancestors (not of choice) were the first successful cultivators of the wilds of America, we their descendants feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat manured ; and that any measure, or system of measures, having a tendency to banish us from her bosom, would not only be cruel, but would be in direct violation of those principles which have been the boast of this republic.

‘*Resolved*,—That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, ‘that they are a dangerous and useless part of the community,’ when in the state of disfranchisement, in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs and rallied round the standard of their country.

‘*Resolved*,—That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country ; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong ; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than fancied advantages for a season.

‘ *Resolved*,—That having the strongest confidence in the justice of God, and in the philanthropy of the free States, we cheerfully submit our destinies to the guidance of Him, who suffers not a sparrow to fall without his special providence.’

And this meeting, immediately afterwards, put forth the following address :—

TO THE HUMANE AND BENEVOLENT INHABITANTS OF THE  
CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

EXTRACTS.

‘ We have no wish to separate from our present homes for any purpose whatever. Contented with our present situation and condition, we are not desirous of increasing their prosperity but by honest efforts, and by the use of those opportunities for their improvement, which the constitution and laws allow to all. It is, therefore, with painful solicitude, and sorrowing regret, we have seen a plan for colonizing the free people of color of the United States, on the coast of Africa.

‘ *We humbly*, respectfully, and fervently intreat and beseech your disapprobation of the plan of colonization now offered by the ‘ American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States.’ Here, in the city of Philadelphia, where the voice of the suffering sons of Africa was first heard ; where was first commenced the work of abolition, on which Heaven has smiled, for it could have had success only from the Great Master ; let not a purpose be assisted which will stay the cause of the entire abolition of slavery in the United States, and which may defeat it altogether ; which proffers to those who do not ask for them, what it calls *benefits*, but which they consider *injuries*, and which must insure to the multitudes whose prayers can only reach you through us, *misery, sufferings, and perpetual slavery*.

(Signed)

JAMES FORTEN, *Chairman*.  
RUSSEL PARKOTT, *Secretary*.

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS TO THE CITIZENS OF N. YORK, JAN. 1831.

‘ It is evident to any impartial observer, that the natural tendency of all their speeches, reports, sermons, &c. is to widen the breach between us and the whites, and give to prejudice a tenfold vigor. It has produced a mistaken sentiment towards us. Africa is considered the home of those who have never seen its shores. The poor, ignorant slave, who, in all probability, has never heard the name of Christ, by the colonization process is suddenly transformed into a ‘ missionary,’ to instruct in the principles of Christianity, and the arts of civilized life. The Friends have been the last to aid the system pursued by the Society’s advocates. And we say (for we feel it) that in proportion as they become colonizationists they become less active and less friendly to our welfare, as citizens of the United States.

‘ There does exist in the United States a prejudice against us ; but is it unconquerable ? Is it not in the power of these gentlemen to subdue it ? If their object is to benefit us, why not better our condition here ? What keeps us down but

the want of wealth? Why do we not accumulate wealth? Simply because we are not encouraged. If we wish to give our boys a classical education, they are refused admission into your colleges. If we consume our means in giving them a mercantile education, you will not employ them as clerks; if they are taught navigation, you will not employ them as captains. If we make them mechanics, you will not encourage them, nor will white mechanics work in the same shop with them. And, with all these disabilities, like millstones, about us, because we cannot point out our statesmen, bankers and lawyers, we are called an inferior race.

‘These gentlemen know but little of a large portion of the colored population of this city. Their opinions are formed from the unfortunate portion of our people, whose characters are scrutinized by them as judges of court. Their patrician principles prevent an intercourse with men in the middle walks of life, among whom a large portion of our people may be classed. We ask them to visit the dwellings of the respectable part of our people, and we are satisfied that they will discover more civilization and refinement than will be found among the same number of white families of an equal standing.

‘Finally, we hope that those who have so eloquently pleaded the cause of the Indian, will, at least, endeavor to preserve consistency in their conduct. They put no faith in Georgia, although she declares that the Indians shall not be removed but *with their own consent*. Can they blame us if we attach the same credit to the declaration, that they mean to colonize us *only with our consent*? They cannot, indeed, use force; that is out of the question. But they harp so much on ‘inferiority, prejudice, distinction,’ and what not, that there will be no alternative left us but to fall in with their plans. We are content to abide where we are. We do not believe that things will always continue the same. The time must come when the declaration of independence will be felt in the heart as well as uttered from the mouth; and, when the rights of all shall be properly acknowledged and appreciated. God hasten that time! This is our home, and this our country. Beneath its sod lie the bones of our fathers: for it some of them fought, bled, and died. Here we were born, and here we will die.’

(Signed) SAMUEL ENNALS, *Chairman*.

December 25, 1830.

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EXTRACT FROM THE BROOKLYN ADDRESS, JUNE, 1831.

‘We truly believe that many gentlemen who are engaged in the Colonization Society are our sincere friends and well-wishers; they wished to do something for us, consequently they have subscribed largely to it, because there was no other plan on foot. Some of them have been deluded into its schemes, with a view of thoroughly civilizing and christianizing Africa, by our free people of color and emancipated slaves, who may, from time to time, be colonized on its coasts, with their own consent. We conceive that such measures are fraught with inconsistency, and in no way calculated to have such an effect. To send a parcel of uninstructed, uncivilized people to the western coast of Africa, with Bibles in their hands, to teach the natives the truths of the Gospel, social happiness, and moral virtue, is mockery and ridicule in the extreme.

‘ Missionary families should be well-instructed in the rudiments of our holy religion, that their example may shine forth as lights in that much neglected and benighted land.

‘ Many wish us to go to Africa, because they say that our constitutions are better adapted to that climate than this. If so, *we would ask why so many of our hearty, hale, and healthy brethren, on arriving in that country, fall victims to the malignant fevers and disorders prevalent in those regions?* We would observe that none are exempt from being touched with the contagion. It operates more severely upon those from the higher latitudes.

‘ Brethren, it is time for us to awake to our interests, for the Colonization Society is straining every nerve for the accomplishment of its objects. They have got the consent of eleven States, who have instructed their Senators to do something in the next Congress for our removal. Maryland calls imperatively on the general government to send us away, or else they will colonize their own free blacks. They have, by their influence, stopped the emancipation of slaves in a measure, except for colonization purposes.

‘ We pray the Lord to hasten the day when prejudice, inferiority, degradation and oppression will be done away, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ.

(Signed) H. C. THOMPSON, *Chairman.*

EXTRACT FROM THE NEW-HAVEN ADDRESS, AUGUST, 1831.

‘ *Resolved*—That we consider those Christians and philanthropists, who are boasting of their liberty and equality, saying that all men are born free and equal, and yet are endeavoring to remove us from our native land, to be inhuman in their proceedings, defective in their principles, and unworthy of our confidence.

‘ *Resolved*—That we consider those colonizationists and ministers of the Gospel, who are advocating our transportation to an unknown clime, because our skin is a little darker than theirs, notwithstanding God has made of one blood all nations of men, and has no respect of persons, as violators of the commandments of God and the laws of the Bible, and as trying to blind our eyes by their vain movements—their mouths being smooth as oil, and their words sharper than any two-edged sword.

‘ *Resolved*—That it is our earnest desire that Africa become speedily civilized, and receive religious instruction; but not by the absurd and invidious plan of the Colonization Society, namely, to send a nation of ignorant men to teach a nation of ignorant men. . We think it most wise for them to send missionaries.

‘ *Resolved*—That we know of no other place that we can call our true and appropriate home, excepting these United States, into which our fathers were brought, who enriched the country by their toils, and fought, bled, and died in its defence, and left us in its possession; and here we will live and die.’

(Signed) HENRY BERRIAN, *Chairman.*

August 8, 1831.

## EXTRACT FROM PITTSBURGH RESOLUTIONS, SEPTEMBER, 1831.

‘*Resolved*—It is the decided opinion of this meeting that African colonization is a scheme to drain the better-informed part of the colored people, out of these United States, so that the chain of slavery may be riveted more tightly.

‘*Resolved*—That we, the colored people of Pittsburgh, and citizens of these United States, view the country in which we live as our only true and proper home. We are just as much natives here as the members of the Colonization Society. Here we were born, here bred ; here are our earliest and most pleasing associations ; here is all that binds man to earth, and makes life valuable. And we do consider every colored man who allows himself to be colonized in Africa, or elsewhere, a traitor to our cause.

‘*Resolved*—That we, as citizens of these United States, and for the support of these resolutions, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, do mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, not to support a colony in Africa nor in Upper Canada, nor yet emigrate to Hayti. Here we were born ; here will we die ; and let our bones lie with our fathers.

Sept. 1, 1831.

(Signed)

J. B. VASHON, *Chairman.*’

## EXTRACT FROM THE WILMINGTON ADDRESS, DELAWARE, JULY, 1831.

‘We are natives of the United States ; our ancestors were brought over to this country by means over which they had no control ; we have our attachments to the soil ; and we feel that we have rights in common with other Americans ; and although deprived, through prejudice, from entering into the full enjoyment of those rights, we anticipate a period, when, in despite of the more than ordinary prejudice which has been the result of this unchristian scheme, ‘Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God.’ But that this formidable society has become a barrier to our improvement, must be apparent to every individual who will but reflect on the course to be pursued by the emissaries of this unhallowed project, many of whom, under the name of ministers of the gospel, use their influence to turn public sentiment to our disadvantage, by stigmatizing our morals, misrepresenting our characters, and endeavoring to show what they are pleased to call the sound policy of perpetuating our civil and political disabilities, for the avowed purpose of indirectly forcing us to emigrate to the western coast of Africa. That Africa is neither our nation nor home, a due respect to the good sense of the community forbids us to attempt to prove ; that our language, habits, manners, morals and religion, are all different from those of Africans, is a fact too notorious to admit of controversy. Why then are we called upon to go and settle in a country where we must necessarily be and remain a distinct people, having no common interest with the numerous inhabitants of that vast and extensive country ? *Experience has proved, beyond a doubt, that the climate is such as not to suit the constitutions of the inhabitants of this country.* The very numerous instances of mortality amongst the emigrants who have been induced to leave this their native for their adopted country, clearly demonstrate the fallacy of those statements so frequently made by the advocates of colonization in regard to the healthiness of Liberia.



'That we are in this country degraded, we are truly sensible ; that our forlorn situation is not attributable to ourselves, is admitted by the most ardent friends of colonization ; and that our condition cannot be bettered by removing the most exemplary individuals of color from amongst us, we are well convinced, from the consideration *that in the same ratio that the industrious part would emigrate, in the same proportion those that would remain would become more degraded, wretched and miserable, and consequently less capable of appreciating the many opportunities that are offered for the moral and intellectual improvement of our brethren.*

'But if this plan is intended to facilitate the emancipation of those who are held in slavery in the south, and the melioration of their condition, by sending them to Liberia, we question very much whether it is calculated to do either.—That the emancipation of slaves has been measurably impeded through its influence, except where they have been given up to the Board of Managers, to be colonized in Africa, to us is manifest.

'Our highest moral ambition, at present, should be to acquire for our children a liberal education, give them mechanical trades, &c., and thus fit and prepare them for useful and respectable citizens.

(Signed)

A. D. SHAD,  
P. SPENCER,  
W. S. THOMAS, } Committee.

EXTRACT FROM NEW-BEDFORD RESOLUTIONS, JANUARY, 1832.

'Resolved—That the Society, to effect its purpose, the removal of the free people of color, (not the slaves,) through its agents, teaches the public to believe that it is patriotic and benevolent to withhold from us knowledge, and the means of acquiring subsistence, and to look upon us as unnatural and illegal residents in this country ; and thus, by force of prejudice, if not by law, endeavor to compel us to embark for Africa, and that too, apparently, by our own free will and consent.

(Signed)

January 23, 1832.

RICHARD JOHNSON.'

Mr. Fisher, member of the Virginian House of Delegates, says—'If we wait till the free negroes consent to leave the State we shall wait until time is no more. They never will give their consent.'

Other resolutions similar to the above, of the same persecuted class throughout the United States, show how they are writhing beneath the colonization process.

4.—*Have we any other eviænce ?*

The following, from a mass far too voluminous here to introduce, is offered :

1.—The American Colonization Society is pledged not to oppose the system of slavery.

2.—It apologises for slavery and slaveholders, and speaks peace to them in their sins.

3.—It regards slaves as property.

4.—It increases the value of slaves as slaves.

5.—It is an enemy to the immediate substitution of righteous and equal law, for the unrighteous authority of the slave-masters.

6.—It is nourished by fear and selfishness.

7.—It pretends to aim at the utter expulsion of the blacks ; that is, of about one-sixth of the whole population of the United States from their native country.

8.—It disparages, traduces, and persecutes the free blacks.

9.—It prevents the instruction of the blacks.

10.—It deceives and misleads the nation.

11.—It makes a disgraceful and criminal peace between the advocates of the blacks and their oppressors.

A few words, and but a few, in proof of each of these assertions. All who wish for more ample testimony, and who feel the dearest interests in time and in eternity of a multitude of their fellow-men, motive enough for research, may find such testimony abundantly in a pamphlet, for sale at No. 9, Cornhill, Boston, United States, by Pierce & Parker, and entitled 'Thoughts on African Colonization,' by William Lloyd Garrison. Price 62 1-2 cents, or about 1s. 6d. English.

1.—*The American Colonization Society is pledged not to oppose the system of slavery.*

'From its origin and throughout the whole period of its existence it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate. Throughout the whole period of its existence, this disclaimer has been made, and incontestible facts establish its truth and sincerity.'—[From a speech by Henry Clay, the champion of the American Colonization Society.]

2.—*It apologises for slaves and slaveholders, and speaks peace to them in their sins.*

'Our brethren of the South have the same sympathies, the same moral sentiments, the same love of liberty, as ourselves. By them, as by us, slavery is felt to be an evil, a hindrance to our prosperity, and a blot upon our character. But it was in being when they were born, and has been forced upon them by a previous generation.'—[Rev. Dr. Nott.]

3.—*It recognises slaves as property.*

'It was proper again and again to repeat that it was far, far from the intention of the Society to affect in any manner the tenure by which a certain species of property is held. He was himself a slaveholder, and he considered that kind of property as inviolable as any in the country.'—[Henry Clay.]

'Something he must yet be allowed to say, as regarded the object the Society was set up to accomplish. This object, if he understood it aright, involved no intrusion on property, nor even upon prejudice.'—[Mr. Archer, 15th Report.]

4.—*It increases the value of slaves, and therefore gives the masters new motives to attain them.*

'They will contribute more effectually to the continuance and strength of this

system (i. e. negro slavery,) by removing those row free, than by any, or all other methods, which can possibly be devised. Such has been the opinion expressed by southern gentlemen of the first talent and distinction.' 'Our belief is the same as theirs.'—[African Repository, p. 227, vol. 1.]

'The execution of this scheme would augment, instead of diminishing, the value of property left behind.'—[Idem, vol. 2, p. 22.]

5.—*It is an enemy to the immediate substitution of righteous and equal law, for the unrighteous authority of the slave-master.*

'To eradicate or remove the evil immediately is impossible, nor can any law of conscience govern necessity.'—[African Repository, vol. 1, p. 251.]

'The scope of the Society is large enough, but it is nowise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of a few fanatics in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery.'—[Idem, vol. 3, page 197.]

6.—*It is nourished by fear and selfishness.*

'Another reason is the pressing and vital importance of relieving ourselves as soon as practicable from this most dangerous element in our population.'—[14th Annual Report.]

'To remove these persons from among us will increase the usefulness and improve the moral character of those who remain in servitude, and with whose labors the country is unable to dispense.'—[African Repository, vol. 3, p. 67.]

'Hatred to the whites, with the exception in some cases of an attachment to the person and family of the master, is nearly universal among the black population. We have then a foe, cherished! in our very bosoms; a foe willing to draw our life-blood whenever the opportunity is offered, and in the meantime intent upon doing us all the mischief in his power.'—*Southern Religious Telegraph.*

And what wonder, while this foe is cherished, in the manner in which the poor negro is cherished! The people of the United States are not so remarkable for loving to be trampled upon, and for kissing the foot which spurns them, that they have any reason for surprise when they find that other men as good as any, and with as full and as unforfeited a title to social liberty as the best, love to be trampled upon and outraged as little as they do. The way to remedy sin is not to persist in it, or to substitute one wrong for another.

7.—*It covertly aims at the utter expulsion of the blacks, that is, about one-sixth of the whole population of the United States.*

'No scheme of abolition will meet with my support that leaves the emancipated blacks among us.'—[African Repository, vol. 2, p. 188.]

'How important it is, as it respects our character abroad, that we hasten to clear our land of our black population.

'What right, I demand, have the children of Africa,' that is, the colored natives of the United States, 'to a homestead in the white man's country,' that is, in the country which the white man has torn from the red man, and from which, after having accomplished all his own nefarious purposes with him, he is hastening to exile the black?

\* The abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization. So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied with this condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other.'—[Mr. Mercer's Speech in Congress.]

8.—*It disparages, traduces, and persecutes the free blacks.*

'Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves.'—[Af. Rep. vol. 2. p. 328.]

'The free blacks in our country are, *as a body*, more vicious and degraded than any other which our population embraces.'—[Idem, vol. 5, p. 24.]

'The increase of a free black population among us has been regarded as a greater evil than the increase of slaves.'—[Idem, vol. 3, p. 374.]

'Of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of color are by far, as a class, the most corrupt, depraved and abandoned.'—[Idem, vol. 6, p. 12.]

9.—*It prevents the instruction of the blacks.*

'The habits, the feelings, the prejudices of society, prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself, can subdue, mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation, *in- evitable and incurable.*'

'Christianity cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity, but *an ordination of Providence*, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature !'—[15th Report, 17th page.]

When, ah when, will sinners cease to palm their sins upon God !

'If the free colored people were generally taught to read, it might be an inducement to them to remain in this country, (that is, in their native country !!) We would offer them no such inducement.'—*Southern Religious Telegraph*, February 19, 1831.

'The public safety of our brethren at the south requires them (the slaves) to be kept ignorant and uninstructed.'—[G. P. Dissosway, Esq. an eminent Colonizationist.]

'It is the business of the free (their safety requires it) to keep the slaves in ignorance. But a few days ago, a proposition was made in the Legislature of Georgia to allow them so much instruction as to enable them to read the Bible ; which was promptly rejected by a large majority.'—*Proceedings of New-York State Colonization Society at its second anniversary.*

E. B. Caldwell, the first secretary of the American Colonization Society, in his speech at its formation, recommended them to be kept 'in the lowest state of ignorance and degradation, for (says he) the nearer you bring them to the condition of brutes, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy !!'

10.—*It deceives and misleads the nation.*

At one time the colonizationists say, '*Admitting* that the colonization scheme contemplates the utter abolition of slavery, yet that result could only be produced by the gradual and slow operation of centuries.'—[African Rep. page 217.] And yet, by a scheme like this, it satisfies its proselytes that they are doing their duty, and that they are going to abolish slavery !

Again,—Mr. Clay, their champion, says, ‘Every emigrant to Africa is a *missionary*, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions.’—And multitudes believe him !

Again,—‘As to the morals of the colonists, I consider them much better than those of the people of the United States. That is, if you take an equal number of inhabitants from any section of the Union, and you will find more drunkards, more profane swearers and sabbath breakers, &c. than in Liberia. The Sabbath is more strictly observed than I ever saw it in the United States.’—[J. Mechlin, Jun. Governor of Liberia.]

Now, *leaving magic out of the case*, let us allow this to be true, and what pitiable and criminal insanity does it mark in the United States, to transport such a people,—or having transported them, not to send the ships of the nation to entreat them back instantly to evangelize their native country. Or let us deem it false, and how base and cruel is the decoy, which is thus held out to us, to patronize a system so nefarious.

The American Colonization Society tells us, that the exiles in Liberia consist of *emancipated slaves*. But this is a deception. They consist chiefly of *free people of color*. Now why have they not really sent, and *only* sent, *emancipated slaves* instead of free people of color, seeing they have, as they say, so many thousands offered to them for that purpose ? Will they reply, ‘We have sent free people of color, because they are more virtuous, and it was necessary to lay an intelligent and virtuous foundation ?’ Then how obvious and cruel is their slander, as above quoted, against the free people of color ! Or will they reply, ‘Oh, we have made a careful selection between the virtuous and vicious ?’ Then where will the selection be when they begin to transport Mr. Clay’s *six or fifty six thousand missionaries* yearly !

The American Colonization Society pretends that it costs but twenty dollars each to send the exiles to Liberia. On the other hand, we have a report to the Senate of the United States, made in 1828, by Mr. Tazewell, arguing that the expense must be 100 dollars per head, perhaps twice as much,—and very convincing reasons are given in favor of this estimate.

Again, the American Colonization Society pretends that it has abolished the African slave trade to a vast extent. But in their *African Repository*, vol. 5, p. 274, I read, ‘It has been declared felony, it has been declared piracy ; and the fleets of Britain and America have been commissioned to drive it from the ocean. Still, in defiance of all this array of legislation and armament, slave ships ride triumphantly on the ocean ; and in these floating caverns from sixty to eighty thousand wretches are borne annually away to slavery or death. Of these wretches a frightful number are, with an audacity that amazes, landed and disposed of *within the jurisdiction of this republic*.’

‘The fact that much was done by Mr. Ashmun to banish it from the territory under the colonial jurisdiction, is unquestionable, but it now exists even on this territory ; and a little to the north and south of Liberia it is seen in its true characters, of fraud, rapine and blood. In the opinion of the late agent the present efforts to suppress this trade must prove abortive.’—[13th Annual Report.]

‘Some appalling facts in regard to the slave trade have come to the knowledge

of the Board of Managers, during the last year. ' With undiminished atrocity and activity is this odious traffic now carried on all along the African coast. Slave factories are established in the immediate vicinity of the colony ; and at the Gallinas (between Liberia and Sierra Leone) not less than 900 slaves were shipped during the last summer, in the space of three weeks.'—[14th Ann. Rep. 1831.]

And here it may be well to observe, that *as long as negro slavery lasts, all colonies on the African coast, of whatever description, must tend to support it, because, in all commerce, the supply is more or less proportioned to the demand. The demand exists in negro slavery ; the supply arises from the African slave trade. And what greater convenience could the African slave traders desire than shops well stored all along the coast, with the very articles which their trade demands. That the African slave traders do get thus supplied at Sierra Leone and Liberia is matter of official evidence ;\* and we know, from the nature of human things, that they will get so supplied, in defiance of all law or precaution, as long as the demand calls for the supply, and there are free shops stored with all that they want at hand. The shopkeeper, however honest, would find it impossible always to distinguish between the African slave trader or his agents and other dealers. And how many shopkeepers are there any where that would be over scrupulous in questioning a customer with a full purse ?*

11.—*The American Colonization Society makes a disgraceful and criminal peace between freemen and slave-masters.*

One extract may suffice. It is from the 13th Report, page 12. Mr. Frelinghaysen, one of the finest minds in the United States, is speaking.—

' Yes, Sir, I ascribe it chiefly to the kindly influence of this Society, that the indiscriminate clamors, once so liberally dealt out, have all died away. I hail the return of better feelings, of juster views. We now, Sir, regard the mischief as of common and universal concern. The language of harsh and unjust crimination and reproach is succeeded by that of sympathy and kindness !' That is, formerly freemen used to feel and speak like freemen, like real lovers of righteous liberty, in their intercourse with slaveholders. But now the freeman smiles courteously upon the oppressor of his unoffending brother, and joins in all his slaveholding sympathies ! Such is the American Colonization Society.

But the free blacks have not always been thus traduced and persecuted. There have been occasions when the truth has been wrung out, and when, under the power of the emergency, their persecutors themselves have left an imperishable record of their own infamy, whenever they dare to slander, as they are doing, this afflicted and outraged class.

In the great plague in Philadelphia, (yellow fever,) just after the revolutionary war, the mayor of the city officially acknowledged the public gratitude due to the free colored people, for their eminent services in the very jaws of death.

In the *Friend*, an American paper of Jan. 28, 1832, speaking of the late dreadful fire in Raleigh, Virginia, we read, ' Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the colored population, who used every exertion in their power to be serviceable.'

\* In reference to the fact here stated, see Parliamentary Papers, No. 364, ' Slave Trade, Sierra Leone,' ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 6th April, 1832, page 11, Mr. Hilary Teague.

During the public emergency at New Orleans, in the last war, the free colored people were called upon in common with the whites, and their services were thus recorded by General Jackson :—

‘Soldiers,—When on the banks of the Mobile, I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow citizens, I expected much from you, for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. I knew well how you loved your *native* country, and that you had, as well as ourselves, to defend what man holds most dear, his parents, relations, wife, children, and property. You have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I find, moreover, among you a noble enthusiasm, which leads to the performance of great things.

‘Soldiers,—The President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger ; and the representatives of the American people will, I doubt not, give you the praise your deeds entitle you to. Your General anticipates them in applauding your noble ardor.

‘The enemy approaches ; his vessels cover our lakes ; *our brave citizens are united*, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is, who shall win the prize of valor, or who the most glory, its noblest reward ?

By order, (Signed) THOMAS BUTLER, Aid-de-Camp.’

In Philadelphia, by the census of 1830, the proportion of the free colored people to the whites, was about *one-ninth*. But in the same year, during the time of the greatest need, the proportion of the free colored out-of-door paupers, receiving regular weekly supplies, only about *one-twenty-third*, that is, in proportion to their several numbers, there was twice as much extreme pauperism amongst the whites as amongst the free blacks. One cause of this disproportion deserves to be particularly noticed ; it is, *that they have numerous societies amongst themselves for mutual aid* ; and this, while they are commonly confined to the lowest offices of the community, and the most honorable and profitable professions are generally closed against them.

In the winter of 1830, wood for fuel became excessively dear at Rochester, a flourishing town in the State of New-York. A benevolent society was quickly formed, and a general visitation commenced. The visitors entered in their course the house of a free colored laboring man, and found that he was possessed of a large store of the finest wood. They offered to purchase it from him ; he refused ; they tempted him with a higher price, he calmly and steadily refused. ‘But you must let us have it,’ they said, ‘for hundreds of the poor are perishing of cold.’ ‘Oh,’ said the man, ‘is that what you want it for ? then take half of it freely ? I want no price.’ He gave the half, and would receive nothing. And these are the people whom the colonizationists are traversing land and sea to get transported from their native country.

Not long ago, our own whites were as insanely cruel in principle in our own wretched slave colonies, only no process equally cruel had occurred to them for the development of their dreadful insanity. But now, righteousness has so far

ion between his children and their God, a heart-voice is arising from black and white alike that never rises in vain. No : the people of the United States—Davids in the matter of Uriah, though they be in relation to the black man—the people of the United States cannot perish ; for there are praying souls amongst them, souls that agonize for their people, with their God. And even now, perhaps, some Nathan is receiving his commission to cry, with converting power, to the slave-master and the colonizationist—‘Thou art the man !’

Finally : Let not the colored man, whether enslaved or free, be discouraged ; God left his own chosen people 400 years in Egypt, (Gen. xv. 13,) while the Egyptians and the Amorites were, year by year, filling up the measure of their iniquities and making themselves altogether meet for destruction. The same God is God still, and still the poor and the oppressed are as much his care as ever ; and still as much as ever He resisteth the proud, and is the enemy of the oppressor. Bear up, brethren ! God has children and servants both amongst yourselves and abroad, who enter into all your sympathies, and who are carrying you on their hearts in prayer, to His mercy-seat. Take courage ! Verdant as the bay-leaf, though be the flourishing of the wicked for a season, yet he shall perish. *He is heaping treasure together for the last days.*—[James v. 3.] Thus saith the Lord—‘I, even I, am He that comforteth you. Who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man that shall be made as grass ; and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth, and fearest continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy. And where is the fury of the oppressor !’—[Isa. li. 12, 13.]

Be of good courage, brethren ! Christianity is shaking off its dust : the rottenness of the whited sepulchres is coming out ; the Gospel is resuming its healing power ; there is balm in Gilead ; there is a physician there. The moral sense of the world is awaking ;—Despotism is quailing—Falsehood is uncovering—Truth is about to triumph—Liberty to be restored—and *Prejudice*, that fiend of darkness, that bane of the earth, that brand of the white man, searing him with infamy ; that bane of the black man, tightening his chains or condemning him to exile—*Prejudice* shall be abolished, and over it, as over Babylon, soon shall be written—‘Prejudice, the tyrant of the tyrant—the waster of the poor—the liar—the coward—the mother of abominations, is fallen, is fallen !’

And here, in concluding, let us once more advert to the alternatives mentioned in page 7, viz.—open butchery—emancipation and incorporation—abandonment of the country by the masters—or draining off the blacks, by transporting them to a distant and barbarous land.

And, while we admire and adore the benevolent designs of an all-gracious God, as manifested in South America, by the emancipation and amalgamation of the whole colored race ; let us abhor and reject the object of the American Colonization Society, which would frustrate those benevolent designs, and keep the family of man asunder, by preventing the increase of the colored people, whether enslaved or free, and by getting rid of their finest minds, that those, who remain behind, may always continue a separate and degraded class.



## EXTRACTS.

Extracts from an English work, entitled—‘FACTS designed to exhibit the REAL CHARACTER AND TENDENCY of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. By Clericus. Liverpool: Printed and sold by Edgerton Smith & Co., Lord-Street.’

‘FIAT JUSTITIA, RUAT CÆLUM.’

‘This Society commends itself to the countenance and support of philanthropic minds by a declaration of its humane intentions and benevolent effects. It is clearly the duty of every person thus appealed to, carefully to examine, and rigidly to scrutinize its claims; to see how far its pretensions are borne out by facts, and to ascertain its probable influence on the destinies of the colored population of the United States. It is alleged that emancipation could not be safe or practicable in that country without such a valve as that now supplied by the Society; that the free colored people are a degraded race, and can never stand on equal ground with their white brethren; that the removal of this population will civilize and evangelize Africa, and effectually stop the progress of the slave trade. There is some inconsistency in these statements, if not palpable contradictions, and a careful examination of the pretensions of this Society must go far to convince every candid and impartial mind of the unsoundness of its constitution. Invidious as it may appear to entertain a doubt of the excellency of a scheme patronized by men of character and fame, professing, as it does, to aim at the welfare of the African, it is, unquestionably, right to judge it by its own acts and words, and if found contrary to religion and justice, to denounce it as unworthy of being supported by humane men. It will be the object of these pages to unfold the real character of the American Colonization Society by an appeal to its own accredited and published documents, and then to judge of its worth by the principles of humanity, justice, and religion.

This course, in part, has been objected to by its advocates in this country and in America. On quotations being printed from the speeches made at its annual meetings, and published with its reports, the plea has been set up that it is unfair to judge the Society by the opinions of the speakers on its annual assemblings. But we ask where lies the unfairness of this procedure? Would the Bible, or Missionary, or Anti-Slavery societies of Great Britain feel themselves aggrieved by a reference to the speeches made at their public meetings, as developing the views which they entertained, or the motives by which they are actuated? Certainly not! For though on some minor points connected with the workings of their machinery a diversity of opinion may be tolerated, yet on all that vitally affected the interests and objects of their different institutions, unanimity of opinion would pervade the minds of their advocates. The Colonization Society, by publishing the speeches of its speakers with their annual reports, become responsible for the opinions thus set forth, and evidently manifest their approval of these sentiments by this act, especially as nothing in the shape of disapprobation is issued by the managers to warn the public of the dangerous and monstrous notions thus advocated. Moreover, these speakers are the warmest friends of the Society; by the labors of some of them the Society was originated, and they are found on its committees, and direct its movements. The meanness and jesuitism of shifting the grave charges brought against the Society by pleading that it is not responsible for the views of its advocates are obvious, and it is to be hoped that this device will no longer serve the purposes for which it has been resorted to.’

‘One powerful objection to the Society is found in the circumstance, that just in proportion as its principles prevail, the affections of the benevolent are alienated from the colored population, and anti-slavery efforts are checked and neutralized. It calls off the attention of the Christian public from the great and solemn duty of seeking to unloose every burden, and to let the oppressed go free; it lulls the consciences of men to slumber, and deludes them into the belief that they are engaged in doing all that their position allows for the benefit of the negro. The free colored people of New-York have published an address, in which they declare ‘the Friends have been the last to aid the system pursued; and in proportion as they become Colonizationists, they become less active, and less friendly to our welfare as citizens of the United States.’ A letter from Arnold Buffum, President of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, recently received by a distinguished philanthropist in this country, contains the following melancholy declaration:—

‘We have had anti-slavery societies in this country upwards of forty years; and we now see upwards of 300,000 persons enjoying freedom and gospel privileges, the result of anti-slavery principles and measures, which were producing a constant succession of emancipations, until the Colonization Society was organized. But now we have to mourn that these principles have been nearly paralyzed, and that emancipations have almost ceased, through the withering influence of that scheme. By establishing the principle that blacks are not to be free in this country, they reconcile the slave to his bondage; by exciting unholy prejudices against free blacks, they reconcile the Christian community to the continuance of slavery, and thus put a stop to anti-slavery efforts. The press and the pulpit have been almost unanimously enlisted in the unholy crusade against the free colored people; and the poor black or brown American children have been for the last ten years almost deserted by the sympathies of human nature: scarcely a tongue was heard to lisp an accent in their behalf.’

Such are the fruits, and what can be the character of the tree! Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. Can the same fountain send forth bitter water and sweet? Judging of this Society from its consequences, it deserves unqualified disapprobation, and so far from claiming the support of Christian men, it should meet with their decided, united, and persevering opposition.

It is well worthy of observation, that the colonizing scheme was originated and carried into effect without the slightest regard to the wishes and feelings of the people upon whom it was destined immediately to act. It never became a question with its advocates, whether the free people were willing to be exiled; their prejudices or inclinations were never for a moment consulted; and it is now well known that they are decidedly opposed to the banishment proposed. This is fully admitted in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Society, page 9.—‘When the Society is spoken of as an institution which is to relieve us of a present and pressing evil, and which may relieve the country of a prospective, and, perhaps, not distant danger; when such views are strongly urged upon the self-interest of the nation, the people of color are not ignorant of this aspect of the subject. They read—they hear—and when they are spoken of as a nuisance to be got rid of, they prove themselves men, men of like passions with us, by resenting it. Their prejudices are roused: they stand aloof from the design. And the fact is not to be concealed, *that the free colored people, taken as a com-*

## EXTRACTS.

Extracts from an English work, entitled—'FACTS designed to exhibit the REAL CHARACTER AND TENDENCY of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. By Clericus. Liverpool: Printed and sold by Edgerton Smith & Co., Lord-Street.'

'FIAT JUSTITIA, RUAT CÆLUM.'

'This Society commends itself to the countenance and support of philanthropic minds by a declaration of its humane intentions and benevolent effects. It is clearly the duty of every person thus appealed to, carefully to examine, and rigidly to scrutinize its claims; to see how far its pretensions are borne out by facts, and to ascertain its probable influence on the destinies of the colored population of the United States. It is alleged that emancipation could not be safe or practicable in that country without such a valve as that now supplied by the Society; that the free colored people are a degraded race, and can never stand on equal ground with their white brethren; that the removal of this population will civilize and evangelize Africa, and effectually stop the progress of the slave trade. There is some inconsistency in these statements, if not palpable contradictions, and a careful examination of the pretensions of this Society must go far to convince every candid and impartial mind of the unsoundness of its constitution. Invidious as it may appear to entertain a doubt of the excellency of a scheme patronized by men of character and fame, professing, as it does, to aim at the welfare of the African, it is, unquestionably, right to judge it by its own acts and words, and if found contrary to religion and justice, to denounce it as unworthy of being supported by humane men. It will be the object of these pages to unfold the real character of the American Colonization Society by an appeal to its own accredited and published documents, and then to judge of its worth by the principles of humanity, justice, and religion.

This course, in part, has been objected to by its advocates in this country and in America. On quotations being printed from the speeches made at its annual meetings, and published with its reports, the plea has been set up that it is unfair to judge the Society by the opinions of the speakers on its annual assemblings. But we ask where lies the unfairness of this procedure? Would the Bible, or Missionary, or Anti-Slavery societies of Great Britain feel themselves aggrieved by a reference to the speeches made at their public meetings, as developing the views which they entertained, or the motives by which they are actuated? Certainly not! For though on some minor points connected with the workings of their machinery a diversity of opinion may be tolerated, yet on all that vitally affected the interests and objects of their different institutions, unanimity of opinion would pervade the minds of their advocates. The Colonization Society, by publishing the speeches of its speakers with their annual reports, become responsible for the opinions thus set forth, and evidently manifest their approval of these sentiments by this act, especially as nothing in the shape of disapprobation is issued by the managers to warn the public of the dangerous and monstrous notions thus advocated. Moreover, these speakers are the warmest friends of the Society; by the labors of some of them the Society was originated, and they are found on its committees, and direct its movements. The meanness and jesuitism of shifting the grave charges brought against the Society by pleading that it is not responsible for the views of its advocates are obvious, and it is to be hoped that this device will no longer serve the purposes for which it has been resorted to.'

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munity, look on our undertaking with disaffection.' Still this is not to be regarded ; it is not suffered to retard the operation of the plan ; and *volens volens* the free colored people must be colonized, because the Society denounces them as an incubus on the energies and prosperity of its enlightened republic. They have publicly met in New-York, in Boston, in Philadelphia, and in all the principal cities of the Union, and protested, in affecting and imploring terms, against the iniquity of banishing them from the land of their fathers. They say, justly—'We are not strangers, we are American citizens: our fathers were among the first that peopled this country ; many of them fought, and bled, and died for the gaining of her liberties ; and shall we forsake their tombs and flee to an unknown land? No! Let us remain over them, and weep, until the day arrive when Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand unto God.' At Philadelphia they resolved—'We will never separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country ; they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong ; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them than in fancied advantages for a season.' These pathetic appeals and noble determinations are lost on the benevolent supporters of the Colonization Society. Their avowed resolution is to transport them *with their own consent*. But how is this to be obtained? The Society is doing it effectually. Its operations widen the breach between this people and the whites, by increasing the prejudices of the latter a hundred fold ; and to this may be traced the recent enactment of the most cruel and persecuting laws. Louisiana has just passed a law prohibiting Sunday schools for the instruction of the blacks, on a penalty of five hundred dollars for the first offence, and *death* for the second! It was also enacted that whosoever shall make use of language in public or private, or make use of signs or actions having a tendency to produce discontent among the colored population, shall suffer imprisonment at hard labor, not less than three years, nor more than twenty-one years, or *death*—at the discretion of the court! The states of Ohio, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and several others, have passed laws of a most iniquitous and rigorous nature, aiming at the expulsion and persecution of the free colored people. By the aid of such zealous coadjutors the design of the Society may be accomplished. The miserable victims of such cruel oppression may in time, give their consent to leave the land of his birth and be located far from the haunts of persecuting white men. The legislators who have made these unrighteous laws are in their individual and collective capacity advocates of the Colonization Society.

All this is justified by the fallacious assumption that Africa is their native land, and in this lying pretext they are sent to the pestilential shores of a barbarous and heathen country. 'Africa,' says the Society, 'is the black man's home physically ; morally he should aspire for a residence within her boundaries ; Liberia is the birthplace of the black man, to which his constitution is peculiarly adapted.' The ignorance displayed in this assertion would be highly amusing but for the painful effects which result from its adoption as an undoubted truth. Is Africa the birthplace of the man born in America? Is it more the birthplace of the colored than of the white American? The notion is preposterous. And yet on this stupid assumption the Colonization Society argues the justice of banishing the colored people, and appeals to the inefficacy of Christianity for support to the act. Hear its language at page 17 of the Fifteenth Annual Report.—'The managers consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent as a class in this country, which are fixed not only beyond the control of the

friends of humanity, but of any human power. Christianity cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity, but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature.'

The impiety of this reasoning is painfully obvious; it is an attempt to charge that God who is no respecter of persons, and who has made of one blood all nations of men, with the crimes perpetrated by the haughty whites against their weak and unoffending colored brethren. But why are they degraded? and where lies the impossibilities of their mental and moral elevation? Not in physical incapacity, as is plainly shown by numerous instances in which the result has been accomplished, but simply in the prejudices and hatred of the whites, which the scheme of colonizing is nourishing and deepening. What must be thought of the men who use all means to depress and keep in ignorance the colored people, and then make that ignorance and depression a plea for their expulsion? In the year 1831 it was proposed to establish a college, for the education of colored youth, to be located at New-Haven, Connecticut. This project, so far from being acceptable to the philanthropists of that city, awakened their alarm and indignation, and several public meetings were called to oppose the measure: these men of nobler blood resolved to 'resist the establishment of the college by every lawful means,' fearing it would 'propagate sentiments favorable to the immediate emancipation of the slaves.' This occurred not in a slaveholding State, but in one free from that abomination, and distinguished for its enlightened liberality. 'If they do these things in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?'

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[From the Anti-Slavery (London) Reporter.]

## AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

We continue to look with some solicitude for the appearance of the mass of evidence which was laid before both Houses of Parliament, in the last session, on the subject of Colonial slavery, but its publication is still delayed. While expecting it, we take the opportunity of turning our eyes, for a brief space, to the United States of America, in order to mark the progress of the question which occupies our thought in that mighty portion of the family of man. The apparent apathy with which it was too long regarded in that country, as in this, seems to be giving place to an intense agitation of the public mind, obviously big with important results; and, while the wicked and anti-Christian prejudices of color are acquiring, in one direction, a deeper and sterner malignity; in another, a more uncompromising and determined hostility to slavery and all its fearful adjuncts is taking root, and spreading itself widely throughout the Christian part, especially, of the American population. This feeling seems of late to have been strengthened by the fuller development of the principles and plans of the Colonization Society, which, though for a time almost unnoticed in its course, has of late come forward with a startling boldness in the avowal of its deliberate purposes, and of the cruel and unjust expedients by which, it is alleged, those purposes are to be effected; and the real tendency of which, it is strenuously maintained, is not to lessen, but to aggravate and perpetuate, the worst evils of Negro slavery.

Various publications have recently appeared in America which profess to expose to public reprobation the flimsy pretences which serve to disguise from superficial observers, the innate and essential deformities of the system of this society, and to delude many benevolent individuals into yielding it their countenance and support. These works are not generally accessible to the British reader. One of them, however, is now before us, which undertakes effectually to expose the iniquity of this Colonization scheme. It bears the following title :—‘Thoughts on African Colonization; or an impartial exhibition of the doctrines, principles, and purposes of the American Colonization Society, together with the resolutions, addresses, and remonstrances of the free people of color,’ by William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, in New-England.

This exposure is conducted by Mr. Garrison with great ability and effect, and his proofs are drawn from sources which appear unexceptionable; namely, the reports of the Colonization Society itself, the published proceedings of its public meetings, and the discussions contained in a periodical work called the ‘African Repository,’ which is the avowed and acknowledged organ of the sentiments and plans of the Society. From these documents he has drawn so largely as to obviate the suspicion of his having misrepresented those sentiments and plans.

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But we turn for a moment to a well-meant and powerful effort, by a gentleman residing in this country, to dissipate the mist which envelopes the Colonization scheme, and to exhibit it in its length and breadth of evil. We allude to a pamphlet by Mr. Charles Stuart, printed at Liverpool, by Egerton and Co., entitled ‘Prejudice Vincible; or the practicability of conquering prejudice by better means than by slavery and exile in relation to the Colonization Society.’ This pamphlet is prefaced by a letter from Mr. James Cropper of Liverpool, in which he fortifies, by his respectable authority, the strong, and as they appear to us, conclusive statements of Mr. Stuart.

It would be impossible for us to follow this pamphlet, any more than the work of Mr. Garrison, into all its details. We may, however, hereafter resume the subject. In the mean time we would merely observe that those details are fearfully portentous. Suffice it to say, that the broad facts of the case, as stated by Mr. Stuart, and borne out by the evidence adduced by Mr. Garrison, are these :—

Out of the whole population of the United States—about thirteen millions—upwards of two millions are held in a most degrading and brutal state of slavery, under laws even worse than those of the slave colonies of Great Britain. About half a million more are free persons of color; free, however, only partially, being subject to malignant exclusions and persecutions, merely because they differ in complexion from ten or eleven millions of their fellow subjects. These two oppressed and persecuted classes are rapidly increasing. Their increase terrifies the slave party. ‘To remove the free class,’ say they, ‘is mercy to ourselves, as they form a perpetual source of discontent and excitement to the slave.’ Their first object therefore is to expatriate, if possible, the whole of the free class, that the slaves may be more easily kept under. The scheme, indeed, is wholly impracticable and visionary, even if the free were willing to go into exile at the call of the Colonization Society. But they are not willing. They protest loudly, and almost universally, against this cruel project of expatriation. Their almost universal feeling may be traced in the resolutions the colored classes have adopted and promulgated in all parts of the United States.

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This stubborn resistance of the colored classes to the plan of banishment from their native country has led the Colonizationists to contemplate still more decisive measures, with a view to compel their expatriation. In the Virginia House of Delegates the language employed was to this effect:—

“‘It is idle to talk about not resorting to force,’ said Mr. Broadnax, a member, ‘every body must look to the introduction of force of some kind or other—and it is in truth a question of expediency, of moral justice, of political good faith—whether we shall fairly delineate our whole system on the face of the bill, or leave the acquisition of extorted consent to other processes. The real question, the only question of magnitude to be settled, is the great preliminary question—Do you intend to send the free persons of color out of Virginia, or not?’

“‘If the free Negroes are willing to go, they will go—if not willing they must be compelled to go. Some gentlemen think it politic not now to insert this feature in the bill, though they proclaim their readiness to resort to it when it becomes necessary; they think that for a year or two a sufficient number will consent to go, and then the rest can be compelled. For my part, I deem it better to approach the question and settle it at once, and avow it openly.

“‘I have already expressed it as my opinion that few, very few, will *voluntarily* consent to emigrate, if no *COMPULSORY MEASURE* be adopted.

“‘I will not express, in its full extent, the idea I entertain of what has been done, or what enormities will be perpetrated to induce this class of persons to leave the State. Who does not know that when a free Negro, by crime or otherwise, has rendered himself obnoxious to a neighborhood, how easy it is for a party to visit him one night, take him from his bed and family, and apply to him the gentle admonition of a severe flagellation, to induce him to *consent* to go away? In a few nights the dose can be repeated, perhaps increased, until, in the language of the physicians, *quantum suff.* has been administered to produce the desired operation; and the fellow then becomes *perfectly willing* to move away.

“‘Indeed, Sir, ALL OF US LOOK TO FORCE of some kind or other, direct or indirect, moral or physical, legal or illegal. Many who are opposed, they say, to any compulsory feature in the bill, desire to introduce such severe regulations into our police laws—such restrictions of their existing privileges—such inability to hold property, obtain employment, rent residences, &c., as to make it impossible for them to remain amongst us. *Is not this force?*’

“Mr Fisher said:—‘If we wait until the free Negroes consent to leave the State, we shall wait until time is no more. *They never will give their consent*; and, he believed, if the House amended the bill as proposed, and the compulsory principle were stricken out, this class of people would be forced to leave by the harsh treatment of the whites.’

‘What a revelation, what a confession is here! The free blacks taken from their beds, and severely flagellated, to make them willing to emigrate! And legislative compulsion openly advocated to accomplish this nefarious project! Yes, the gentlemen say truly, ‘few, very few will *voluntarily* consent to emigrate’—‘they never will give their consent’—and therefore they must be expelled by force! It is true, the bill proposed by Broadnax was rejected by a small majority; but it serves to illustrate the spirit of the colonization leaders.’ p. 74.

This is really too bad; it makes the very blood to curdle in one’s veins!

The only ray of consolation which we discover breaking out from this lurid cloud is in the institution of Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States, formed for the very purpose of denouncing and opposing such



abominations, and of extinguishing slavery altogether. We have before us the account of one recently established in New-England, the objects of which are declared to be 'to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in regard to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political privileges with the whites.' In their address they denounce the principles and plans of the Colonization Society in the very strongest terms of reprehension. We trust that no friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in this country will be found to lend an ear to any of the insidious and delusive representations of the advocates of that Society, and still less to aid them with funds.

[From the Liverpool Mercury of Oct. 19, 1832.]

'AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.'

Mr. Thompson, the eloquent lecturer upon the colonial system, has informed us that he entertained as favorable an opinion of the American Colonization Society as we did, until he perused some documents which effected a change in his views. Mr. Buckingham, also, and several other men of talents, have made similar avowals. For our own parts, we do not think it possible for any honest and candid man to resist the evidence contained in the extracts from the reports of the Colonization Society itself. The framers of those reports have certainly committed themselves by holding out different representations to different persons. They have, according to their own showing, recommended the Colonization scheme to the American slaveholders, as favorable to the permanence of slavery, or, in their own words, as a means 'to provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment;' and again, in their 14th Report, pages 12 and 13, they say, 'the slave owner, so far from having just cause to complain of the Colonization Society, has reason to congratulate himself that in this institution a channel is opened up, in which the public feeling and public action can flow on without doing violence to his rights.' On the other hand, when they seek to interest the abolitionists in the operations of the society, they profess their ultimate object to be the extinction of slavery, and declare that all their exertions tend to the attainment of that object. Whatever they may say in America, we know at least that their advocates in Great Britain have rested the cause principally on this ground. This sort of double dealing, though it may answer the purpose of the moment, cannot long serve any cause, and must, in the end, materially injure it. We ourselves were misled by it in the first instance, but, having got a glimpse at the other side of the picture, we have avowed the change wrought in our opinions by it, and, as we have already intimated, several persons for whom we entertain a high respect have followed our example.

There is one gentleman in this town who is always amongst the foremost in the promotion of every good work, and who subscribed liberally towards the furtherance of the colonization scheme. As we know him by long experience to be an upright and candid man, we recommend to his attention, if he has not already seen it, the pamphlet lately published by Capt. Stuart, comprising the letter of Mr. James Cropper to Mr. Thomas Clarkson. We feel convinced that its perusal will work a material change in his opinions, and that our honest and intelligent townsman, Mr. Thornely, (for it is of him we speak,) will not hesitate to avow that change to his friends, and to those who, like us, entertain the highest opinion of his judgment and his integrity.